

# **Liberation**

December 1956

30

## **WE ARE STILL WALKING**

**Martin Luther King Jr.**



### **MONTGOMERY ANNIVERSARY**

**E. D. Nixon**

**Eleanor Roosevelt**

**Ralph J. Bunche**

**Roy Wilkins**

**Harry Emerson Fosdick**

**A. Philip Randolph**

## In this Issue-

MARTIN LUTHER KING Jr. is pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama, and President of the Montgomery Improvement Association.

E. D. NIXON, Southern Representative of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, is Treasurer of the Montgomery Improvement Association. His action in calling together Montgomery Negro leaders initiated the bus protest.

ROY WILKINS is National Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH is a Vice-President of the AFL-CIO and International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, Minister Emeritus of the Community Church in New York and Honorary Chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union, has been for 30 years one of the foremost exponents of Gandhian pacifism in the United States.

HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK is Co-chairman of In Friendship, an organization to raise funds for the victims of economic reprisals in the racial conflict.

Z. K. MATTHEWS, Chairman of the Cape Province African National Congress, is Professor of Anthropology at the University College of Fort Hare. In 1953-4, he lectured widely in the U.S.

HARVEY DINNERSTEIN and BURT SILVERMAN made a special trip to Montgomery to make the drawings which appear in this issue.

SIDNEY LENS helped organize the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Council.

DAVE DELLINGER, a member of the Glen Gardner (N.J.) Cooperative Community, visited Koinonia Community, Americus, Ga., to obtain first-hand material for his article in this issue.

BAYARD RUSTIN recently returned from Mississippi, where he participated in "Workshops in Non-Violent Action" with local Negro leaders.

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## Middle East Volcano

It is hard to see how a stalemate can be achieved and a temporary line drawn across the Middle East, as was done in Korea. The very existence of Great Britain and France not only as major powers but even as independent nations is threatened if they are cut off from the oil of the Middle East, and if Russia achieves a dominant position in that region, with access to Africa by land and to India by sea. From the strict power-politics point of view France and Britain "had" to intervene in Egypt, though the action was morally disgraceful and politically foolhardy, for countries claiming to be "free democracies." Furthermore, if Britain, France and the rest of Western Europe are drastically weakened, the whole American foreign policy, based on the European alliance, which led this country into two World Wars, finally collapses.

So far as Russia is concerned, the stakes are likewise immense. If she is not to give up the policy of expansion and power, she cannot afford to let the West entrench itself again in the Middle East. On this level, she has to be prepared to fight if necessary and this time she will have to commit her own nationals, not leave the dirty work to Chinese, Koreans, or Indo-Chinese.

As for Israel, she is in a great degree an artificial creation, and a pawn in the war between bigger powers. These are hard facts of life, and our insistence that the Israelis and their friends must face them does not mean that we are insensitive to the outrages to which the Nazis subjected the Jews, or to the provocations to which Israel has been subjected at the hands of Egypt. But the law that those who take the sword perish by it is not suspended for any people. And behind the provocations lies Israel's forced expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Arabs from their homes in Palestine. Those who were refugees themselves made refugees of others.

In the crises in the Middle East and in Central Europe, Americans should guard against any temptation to condemn resort to violence and war in one case and to condone it in another. Ethically, the double standard is poison. Politically, whipping up emotions for one side and against the other is part of the process of lining up sides for war.

## Budapest and What Next?

The blood-drenched line that led from East Berlin to Vorkuta to Poznan and has now extended to Buda-

pest testifies to the fact that the Second Revolution has begun.

Stalinist Communism industrialized first Russia and then its satellites at an enormous cost in human hunger and suffering. Millions died and millions more were jailed under the Stalinist regime, which favored machines over men, and exploited its vassal states through one-sided economic treaties, buttressed by military force.

Now the masses of the Communist world are demanding once again both bread and freedom. The Hungarian Revolution indicates both how tenuous was the hold of Communism over the masses and how cynical and dishonest the Soviets are when they bray about "the right of self-determination".

Milovan Djilas, who was deprived of his posts as second man in the government and Communist Party of Yugoslavia in 1953 because he demanded a thorough-going democratization of his country, has made a major contribution to the analysis of these events by emphasizing the relationship and contrast between the Polish and Hungarian revolts. The essential point of the former is the achievement, at least for the time being, of a substantial degree of national independence and limited concessions to democracy, within the Communist bloc. This is Titoism. The Hungarians went further and demanded genuine democratization within the nation, in other words a new social system. We share Djilas' conviction that the present ferment in the Communist world, including the Soviet Union itself, cannot be confined to the first phase, achievement of national Communism. Once this issue is raised, the demand for freedom, i.e. the revolutionary transformation of Communism itself, will inevitably follow.

All this means that we are witnessing one of the major upheavals in human history and are on the eve of titanic struggles. The fighters in these struggles will suffer reverses. Thus, Milovan Djilas has now been jailed by Tito, and one phase of the Second Revolution in Hungary has ground to a momentary halt. But only one phase it would seem, for as this is written, the Hungarian people have carried on a general strike and engaged in a varied campaign of passive resistance for several weeks. This may furnish an important clue to how the struggle against totalitarianism will develop in Hungary and elsewhere. We predict that the goals for which our Hungarian brothers fought will eventually be won. There will be other

Vorkutas, Poznans and Budapests. Further revolutionary actions in the Communist world are as inevitable as were the "Second Revolutions" of 1830, 1848 and 1871 in the capitalist world.

One caveat is necessary: should the Kremlin strategists by design or in desperation seek to embark on war, this might conceivably speed up the revolutionary process both in Russia and in the satellites. In the past, however, the attempt to divert attention from internal problems by whipping up hysteria against the external enemy has often succeeded. It might work again!

## Crisis in the Communist Party

In the American Communist Party three tendencies confront each other in a rip-roaring open debate, preparatory to a convention in February. One tendency, that of William Z. Foster, leader of the Party, clearly seeks to return to a disciplined, monolithic past. Another, that of Eugene Dennis, General Secretary, straddles the fence of history, hoping by some miracle to evade the unpleasant consequences of democratization while yielding slowly. The third, that of John Gates, editor-in-chief of the *Daily Worker*, stands for genuine loosening of the old ties with Moscow, a vigorous attempt at democratization within the Party, and re-orientation toward the American scene.

Non-Communist radicals, wary of the final outcome, will nonetheless welcome the extended discussion in the C.P. ranks. The fact that this discussion is being openly conducted, with severe differences being aired not only within the Party but before the public, is itself a vast change. Similarly, we welcome the clear-cut denunciation of Soviet intervention in Hungary, and the support of the Polish Titoists, by a large percentage of C.P. leaders and members.

This re-examination has produced a crisis in the Communist movement, but for the Left at large it means that Communism's attractive force is shattered, that there is a loosening of Russian control, that thousands of men and women inside and outside Communist ranks are taking a second look at radical ideology. We hope that this second look will go deeply enough into the whole question of what constitutes a genuine revolution. The revolution must be based on human freedom, *today*, rather than on the seizure and wielding of political power in the name of future freedom.

# SALUTE to MONTGOMERY

## Eleanor Roosevelt

I THINK December 5th is an important date for all of us in the U.S. to remember. The bus protest carried on by the colored people of Montgomery, Alabama, without violence, has been one of the most remarkable achievements of people fighting for their own rights but doing so without bloodshed and with the most remarkable restraint and discipline, that we have ever witnessed in this country. It is something all of us should be extremely proud of for it is an achievement by Americans which has rarely before been seen.

## Ralph J. Bunche

FOR THE PAST YEAR Martin Luther King and his fellow Negro citizens of Montgomery have been doing heroic work in the vineyards of democracy. Their patient determination, their wisdom and quiet courage are constituting an inspiring chapter in the history of human dignity. They have steadfastly refused to barter away their dignity and may God bless them for that.

## Roy Wilkins

LONG KNOWN as the first capital of the late Confederacy, the City of Montgomery, Alabama, now has a new and more righteous claim to fame. Once the war capital of an alliance dedicated to human slavery, it is now the peace capital of a new liberation movement. Formerly a more or less complacent Southern town, it has become a center of activity providing a demonstration of the effectiveness of non-violent resistance to racial tyranny.

The rebirth of Montgomery came with the spontaneous protest of the city's Negro population against the humiliation of Jim Crow. This upsurge of protest was chan-

neled into constructive action by the Montgomery Improvement Association under the inspired and dedicated leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr., Ralph Abernathy, and E. D. Nixon.

The Montgomery protest is an historic development. It demonstrates before all the world that Negroes have the capacity for sustained collective action. It refutes the white supremacist's false charge that Negroes are content with discrimination and segregation. It validates the role of local leadership in social action programs. It reveals the economic strength of the Negro. It affirms the value of a calm approach to potentially explosive issues. And finally, it demonstrates that 50,000 persons can work together as a unit without military discipline and without degenerating into a mob.

## Harry Emerson Fosdick

MONTGOMERY, Alabama, has become one of the most significant places in the world. The idea of non-violent resistance is not traditionally at home in the United States. Many of us who regard it as basically Christian have wondered how it ever could be made at home here. Now, in Montgomery, it is actually at work on an impressive scale.

Racial prejudice and discrimination are a fundamental denial of the Christian gospel. Atheism itself is no more complete a rejection of everything the church stands for, from monotheism to the teachings of Jesus. Yet many churchmen today are supporting in America a system of racial inequality and injustice which denies the faith, disgraces us among free peoples and furnishes a major weapon of propaganda to the Communists. The dignified, resolute and peaceable protest of the Montgomery Negroes against such inequality and injustice is a godsend





to our country, and a lesson that, North as well as South, we need to learn.

In the North the tensions caused by racial prejudice are less acute than in the South, but let no Northerner pride himself that we are free from the curse, or from the Christian responsibility it involves. Violence will never solve the problem; only the persuasive influence of patient, resolute, sometimes heroic good will, will help; and the Negroes of Montgomery, Alabama, are pioneering a method which all Christian churchmen should welcome, and be prepared, when it is necessary, to practise.

### John Haynes Holmes

MONTGOMERY is destined to hold the same place in the heroic history of the Negro in America as Lexington and Concord in the history of this country. In both instances the people of a whole region rose up against those among them who would deny liberty and justice. Montgomery set the noble example of putting aside the weapons of force and violence and turning to non-violence for their weapons. Men showed their willingness, the eagerness, to suffer and even to die for their rights; and when that moment comes in the life of a people, the victory is already sure.

In the present struggle there can be no doubt as to its outcome. The forces of righteousness are on our side. God is with us—which means that every force for good in this vast universe is lined up in support of the deliverance of humankind from tyranny. The victory may seem slow in coming. The waiting for it may seem interminable. We perhaps may not live to see the hour of triumph. But the great Theodore Parker, abolitionist preacher in the days before the Civil War, answered this doubt and fear when he challenged an impatient world. "The arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice."

### A. Philip Randolph

IN THIS MOMENT of history when dynamic, centrifugal, social impulses for human dignity, equality, justice and freedom have been unloosed, especially, within the area of the South that will never be contained until Negroes are fully free, it is important to note that the protest of jim crow buses in Montgomery, Alabama, by fifty thousand Negroes in that city, marks the most dramatic expression of the civil rights revolution which is now under way.

This Montgomery movement for human rights has introduced in the complex of social change in human relationships in the South, a new quality of action; namely, non-violent, good-will, direct action. It is love instead of hate; good-will instead of ill-will; peace instead of war.

This philosophy of non-violent, good-will, direct action, which stems from the Judeo-Christian ethic, was imple-

mented by the life and work of the noble saint of India, Mahatma Gandhi. Its great social significance and value in the field of social action for the achievement of human brotherhood consists in the fact that it rejects the old doctrine of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth and shocks and frustrates the enemy by enduring and absorbing violence without offering violent resistance but, on the contrary, peaceful non-resistance or spiritual and moral resistance.

This doctrine, the White Citizens Councils, steeped in the false beliefs of racial superiority and the negative and disastrous doctrine of violence against the legitimate, just and reasonable legal demands of Negroes for equality and justice, cannot understand at this hour but they will eventually understand it since it grows out of the principle of human solidarity of mankind. Since the members of the White Citizens Councils, along with Negroes, are a part of the human race they will ere long recognize and accept, understand and appreciate the principle of human equality—the expression of the will of God.

### Z. K. Matthews

I AM SURE that all the world over lovers of freedom have been thrilled by the magnificent way in which the people of Montgomery and other places in the States have stood up and fought for the elementary rights which some of their fellow countrymen seek to deny them. Their example has been an inspiration to others faced with similar problems in other parts of the world.

In our own country Africans in one of our main African townships—Evaton in the Transvaal—have for months carried on a bus boycott against burdensome fares bearing hard upon people of the lower income group. Although the people concerned suffered much hardship, including violence at the hands of those anxious to break the boycott, the people stood their ground and won the battle in the end, proving once more the power of non-violent resistance to oppression in various forms.

At the present time African women in different parts of the country have embarked on non-violent protests against the Government's plans to extend the hated "pass system" to African women in the same way as it has applied to African men in the past. The biggest demonstration, involving 10,000 women, took place in August at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, the administrative capital of the Union. Others have taken place in other centers.

At a time like this when the world seems to stand on the brink of another futile resort to arms to settle disputes, it is good to know that the banner of non-violent resistance as a method of settling differences, whether at the local, state or national level, is being kept high in some places.

# WE ARE STILL WALKING

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.



WHEN THE SUPREME COURT ruled on November 13th that segregated buses are illegal, it must have appeared to many people that our struggle in Montgomery was over. Actually, the most difficult stage of crisis had just begun.

For one thing the immediate response of some influential white people was to scoff at the court decision and to announce that it would never be put into effect. One pro-segregationist said: "We are prepared for a century of litigation." The leader of the Montgomery Citizens Council stated: "Any attempt to enforce this decision will inevitably lead to riot and bloodshed." It is clear that all our tact and all our love are called for in order to meet the situation creatively.

Even more important, our own experience and growth during these eleven and a half months of united non-violent protest has been such that we cannot be satisfied with a court "victory" over our white brothers. We must respond to the decision with an understanding of those who have opposed us and with an appreciation of the difficult adjustments that the court order poses for them. We must be able to face up honestly to our own shortcomings. We must act in such a way as to make possible a coming together of white people and colored people on the basis of a real harmony of interests and understanding. We seek an integration based on mutual respect. We have worked and suffered for non-segregated buses,

but we want this to be a step towards equality, not a step away from it.

Perhaps if I tell you of our first mass meeting the night after the Supreme Court's decision, it will indicate what was going on in our minds.

After our opening hymn, the Scripture was read by Rev. Robert Graetz, a young Lutheran minister who has been a constant reminder to us in these trying months that white people as well as colored are trying to expand their horizons and work out the day-to-day applications of Christianity. He read from Paul's famous letter to the Corinthians: "... though I have all faith, so that I could move mountains, and have not love, I am nothing.... Love suffereth long and is kind...."

When he got to the words: "When I was a child, I spoke as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child, but when I became a man I put away childish things," the congregation burst into applause. Soon there was shouting, cheering, and waving of handkerchiefs. To me this was an exciting, spontaneous expression by the Negro congregation of what had happened to it these months. The people knew that they had come of age, that they had won new dignity. They would never again be the old subservient, fearful appeasers. But neither would they be resentful fighters for justice who could overlook the rights and feelings of their opponents. When Mr. Graetz concluded the reading with the words

"And now abideth faith, hope and love, but the greatest of these is love", there was another spontaneous outburst. Only a people who had struggled with all the problems involved in trying to be loving in the midst of bitter conflict could have reacted in this way. I knew then that nonviolence, for all its difficulties, had won its way into our hearts.

### Peculiar People

LATER, when Rev. Abernathy spoke, he told how a white newspaper man had reproached him for this outburst on the part of the congregation. "Isn't it a little peculiar", he said, "for people to interrupt the Scripture that way?" "Yes it is", said Abernathy, "just as it is peculiar for people to walk in the snow and rain when there are empty buses available; just as it is peculiar for people to pray for those who persecute them; just as it is peculiar for the Southern Negro to stand up and look a white man in the face as an equal." Pandemonium broke loose.

In my talk, I tried to discuss the basic philosophy of our movement. It is summed up in the idea that we must go back on the buses not as a right but as a duty. If we go back as a right, there is a danger that we will be blind to the rights of others. We Negroes have been in a humiliating position because others have been chiefly concerned with insisting on their own rights. This is too narrow a basis for human brotherhood, and certainly will not overcome existing tensions and misunderstandings.

Secondly, if we insist on our "rights", we will return to the buses with the psychology of victors. We will think and say—by our manner if not our words—that we are the victors. This would be unworthy of us and a barrier to the growth we hope for in others.

In the past, we have sat in the back of the buses, and this has indicated a basic lack of self-respect. It shows that we thought of ourselves as less than men. On the other hand, the white people have sat in front and have thought of themselves as superior. They have tried to play God. Both approaches are wrong. Our *duty* in going back on the buses is to destroy this superior-inferior relationship, from whichever side it is felt. Instead of accepting the division of mankind, it is our duty to act in the manner best designed to establish man's oneness. If we go back in this spirit, our mental attitude will be one that must in the long run bring about reconciliation.

There is a victory in this situation. But it is a victory for truth and justice, a victory for the unity of mankind.

These eleven months have not been at all easy. Our feet have often been tired. We have struggled against tremendous odds to maintain alternative transportation, but we have kept going with the faith that in our struggle we had cosmic companionship, and that, at bottom, the

universe is on the side of justice. We must keep that perspective in the days that are immediately ahead.

### Klan Stages Parade

THE NIGHT the Supreme Court decision was handed down, the Ku Klux Klan tried to intimidate us. The radio announced that the Klan would demonstrate throughout the Negro community. There were threats of bombing and other violence. We decided that we would not react as we had done too often in the past. We would not go into our houses, close the doors, pull the shades, or turn off the lights. Instead we would greet them as any other parade.

When the Klan arrived—according to the newspapers "about forty carloads of robed and hooded members"—porch lights were on and doors open. The Negro people had gathered courage. As the Klan drove by, people behaved much as if they were watching the advance contingent for the Ringling Brothers Circus or a Philadelphia Mummers Parade. Many walked about as usual; some simply watched; others relaxed on their stoops; a few waved as the cars passed by. This required a tremendous effort, but the Klan was so nonplussed that after a few short blocks it turned off into a side-street and disappeared into the night.

### Injunction Against the Car Pool

NOT ALL our problems are resolved that easily. A few hours after the Supreme Court decided in favor of non-segregated buses, the U.S. Circuit Court issued an injunction prohibiting us from continuing the car pool. This was a system whereby about 100 vehicles had picked up protesters at the Negro churches and had taken them to central locations. The court order deprived us of our chief method for transporting many Negroes to work or shopping centers from outlying districts.

Formal objections to the car pool included the charges that the cars were improperly insured and the drivers were "morally unsuitable". It is true that for a time some cars were without insurance—since the White Citizens Council brought pressure on the insurance companies to cancel the policies on cars being used in the pool. But this was remedied long before the court case, when Lloyds of London insured each car to the amount of \$11,000. As evidence of the moral unfitness of the drivers, the city listed the numerous traffic tickets with which it had harassed us from the beginning. Despite this strange justice, we decided to comply with the court order.

Unlike the Supreme Court decision, which does not go into effect until the formal order is handed to the Montgomery officials, the injunction against the car pool was immediately operative. This means that at the present time—and for about a month—we have no car



pool, and cannot, in good faith, ride the buses. As evidence of solidarity among Negroes, the leaders have decided either to put their cars in the garages, while the people must walk or to place their cars at the disposal of others. If people must walk, the leaders will walk with them.

Naturally, we were disappointed at the issuance of the injunction. There will be many sore feet in Montgomery—and many tasks unfulfilled because of lack of transportation. But as in the case of several previous persecutions it may work in the end to our benefit. Having destroyed the car pool, the defenders of segregation will be in no position to go to the courts and request delays in execution of the desegregation order. This was the method for getting around the Supreme Court order on integration of the schools. It has succeeded to the extent that there is not a single integrated public school in the State of Alabama. But in the case of the buses it is hard to plead for “going slow yet a little longer” when Negroes must walk everywhere they go. To me this is further proof that human beings inevitably work against themselves when they work for selfish ends. Several weeks ago an editorial in the *Montgomery Advertiser* raised questions about the wisdom of the white segregationists pressing for abolition of the car pool. The writer said that he was not sure that this was the right thing to do. The answer is simple: you cannot do the right thing in the wrong context.

### Growth on Both Sides

I DO NOT MEAN to imply that all the white people are working for merely selfish ends. We have all inherited a situation that is extremely difficult. We are therefore gratified when we find members of the white population making a serious effort to change. There are many evidences of growth on the part of both white and Negro people in Montgomery.

A year ago the intolerable behavior of a prominent member of the white group was largely responsible for prolonging the protest. In fact, considerable tension arose from his initial intransigence. At the beginning we felt that this gentleman treated us rather rudely. But now he talks with us in a dignified and courteous manner and says that he understands us better. He told me that he respects persons who have deep convictions and are willing to stand up for them at the cost of personal suffering.

There are encouraging indications that hundreds of other white persons have come to feel similarly. They are under tremendous pressure to conform to the views of the more reactionary elements, or at least to remain discreetly aloof. But we are trying to encourage them to act firmly in line with their deeper convictions. That

is why we are publicly asking all persons of good will to comply with the Supreme Court order.

One anonymous 'phone caller, whose voice I have come to recognize, has been calling me for months to insult and threaten me and then slam down the receiver. Recently he stayed on the 'phone for half an hour, giving me the opportunity to discuss the whole underlying problem with him. At the end of the call he said: “Reverend King, I have enjoyed talking with you, and I am beginning to think that you may be right.” This willingness to change deeply engrained attitudes buoys us up and challenges us to be open to growth, also.

### Appeal to the Churches

WE ARE APPEALING especially to church people to examine their lives in the light of the life and teachings of the great religious leaders. They teach that all men, whatever their race or color, are children of one Father and therefore brothers, one of another. He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen can not love God whom he hath not seen.

Churches, by disseminating these teachings, have had much to do with the increasing sensitiveness on the issue



of race relations and the undoubted advances which have been made in recent years. However, the churches have fallen woefully short of practising what they preach. They have contributed to the confusion, the hesitation, the bitterness and violence.

We are convinced that great gains can be made if re-



religious men will seek to practice true love toward their brothers and sisters. This conviction underlies our own attempts to be fearlessly non-violent in the present situation. It is the basis on which we are appealing to our white brothers to see beyond the narrow concepts of the past.

### Can not be Solved by Politics

DISCUSSION has tended to concentrate on such aspects as Supreme Court decisions and the maintenance of law and order against mob rule. We do not wish to minimize these issues. They have an important bearing on the peace of our land. But the racial problem, North and South, cannot be solved on a purely political level. It must be approached morally and spiritually. We must ask ourselves as individuals: What is the right thing to do, regardless of the personal sacrifices involved?

Within the Negro churches, one of the lessons we have learned is that the church is not living up to its full responsibilities if it merely preaches an other-worldly gospel devoid of practical social connotations. It must concern itself, as Jesus did, with the economic and social problems of this world, as well as with its other-worldly gospel. As our church has played a leading role in the present social struggle, it has won new respect within the Negro population.

### Long Range Program

FROM THIS PERSPECTIVE, it is obvious that our interest in brotherhood extends far beyond the desegregation of the buses. We are striving for the removal of all barriers that divide and alienate mankind, whether racial, economic or psychological. Though we are deeply involved in the bus protest, we have also worked out a long-range constructive program. Recently we agreed on six continuing goals:

1. To establish the first bank in Montgomery to be owned and operated by Negroes. We have found that in the present situation many Negroes who are active in the protest have been unable to secure loans from the existing banks.
2. To organize a credit union. As a result of the protest, there is a strong desire among the Negroes to pool their money for great cooperative economic programs. We are anxious to demonstrate that cooperation rather than competition is the way to meet problems.
3. To expand the voting clinics, with which we have been trying not only to teach Negroes the techniques of

registration and voting but also to provide impartial discussion of the underlying issues.

4. The establishment of training institutes in the methods and discipline of non-violent action. We have begun to see the tremendous possibilities of this method of tackling human problems.

5. Until the NAACP, which has been outlawed in Alabama, is able to function again in the State, we hope to be able to take on some aspects of the excellent work it has carried on.

6. To give aid to those who have sacrificed in our cause. Many of them are marked men and women who will be unable to get work in Montgomery for a long time. We cannot build a movement if we do not stand by those who are victims in the struggle. Spiritual solidarity is meaningless if it does not extend into economic brotherhood.

### Unanticipated Results of Non-violence

EVERYONE must realize that in the early days of the protest there were many who questioned the effectiveness, and even the manliness, of non-violence. But as the protest has continued there has been a growing commitment on the part of the entire Negro population. Those who were willing to get their guns in the beginning are coming to see the futility of such an approach.

The struggle has produced a definite character development among Negroes. The Negro is more willing now to tell the truth about his attitude to segregation. In the past, he often used deception as a technique for appeasing and soothing the white man. Now he is willing to stand up and speak more honestly.

Crime has noticeably diminished. One nurse, who owns a Negro hospital in Montgomery, said to me recently that since the protest started she has been able to go to church Sunday mornings, something she had not been able to do for years. This means that the Saturday nights are not so vicious as they used to be.

There is an amazing lack of bitterness, a contagious spirit of warmth and friendliness. The children seem to display a new sense of belonging. The older children are aware of the conflict and the resulting tension, but they act as if they expect the future to include a better world to live in.

We did not anticipate these developments. But they have strengthened our faith in non-violence. Believing that a movement is finally judged by its effect on the human beings associated with it, we are not discouraged by the problems that lie ahead.

# How It All Started



**E. D.**

**Nixon**

ON THE NIGHT of December 1st, 1955, I sat for a long while on the edge of my bed. After a time I turned to my wife and said, "You know, I think every Negro in town should stay off the buses for one day in protest for Mrs. Parks' arrest." My wife looked at me as if I was crazy. Then I asked her, "What do you think?" "I think you ought to stop day dreaming, turn out that light and get some sleep."

As I began to think about the three women who had been arrested in ten months for violating the Jim Crow law on the buses, my mind turned back thirty years. I began to think about the days when I first traveled out of Montgomery as a pullman porter. I remembered seeing Negroes in the North sitting anywhere they wanted on streetcars and trains. I remembered Negroes talking of voting. I remembered how I had seen black men holding public office—how they had freedoms which are still denied us in Alabama. I began to wonder how long we were going to put up with being pushed around.

I remembered how, years ago, I had first asked myself, "What can I do to help bring freedom to the Negro in Alabama?" Naturally, one person alone could not bring about many changes in a deeply rooted tradition. But I believed that one person could kindle a spark that might cause others to see light and work.

I recalled that it had taken a long time before I had gained courage to begin. Most of the people I talked to called me crazy. Others told me to take it easy if I wanted to live. They told me that Southern white people were different from those up North. Nevertheless I kept believing that Negroes could be free.

Then I thought of A. Philip Randolph, Congressman Oscar Depriest, attorney Arthur A. Madison and Walter White—the four men who had encouraged me to go forward. I remembered how I first got started working for improvements in Montgomery. I had begun by working for better recreation for children; after that, for PWA and WPA jobs for Negroes, and then for the right to

vote. Sometimes a few people would help but most of them were afraid. I recall how the NAACP and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters were always ready to help. I remembered how during World War II we had secured a USO Center for Negro servicemen. I thought of how surprised the people were when I ran for committeeman on the Democratic ticket, and how they rejoiced when this step gave many Negroes the courage to qualify as voters.

I recalled the many times I had to organize some committee to serve as an instrument to obtain privileges rightfully due the Negroes of Montgomery. There had been the Recreational Council, the Citizens' Overall Committee, the Montgomery Voters' League.

Then all of a sudden, as I sat there on the edge of my bed, some ideas came to me: why not ask the Negroes in Montgomery to stand up and be counted? Why not start a protest for Mrs. Parks? Why not stay out of the buses? Why not start a Montgomery Improvement Association? I decided that it was time for mass action. Despite my wife's reaction, I felt that the Negroes in Montgomery were at last anxious to move, prepared to sacrifice and ready to endure whatever came.

ALTHOUGH I felt the people in Montgomery had respect for me, I knew that a mass movement of 50,000 people required young, vigorous and well-educated leadership. I believed that if Rev. King and Rev. Abernathy could take over leadership of an improvement association, we could not fail. I rolled over and went to sleep.

Early the next morning I called Rev. Abernathy and told him about the plan. I said, "I think we ought to stay off the buses." Abernathy agreed and asked me to talk right away with Rev. King. I talked to King, a very good and humble young man. He agreed with the idea but felt that perhaps someone older and more experienced should be the leader. I knew by his very attitude that he was the man. After talking with King, I talked again with Abernathy. By this time he had asked Rev. Hubbard, President of the Negro Ministers' Conference, to call a meeting that very morning at King's church.

Most of the ministers came and the Montgomery Improvement Association was founded. Rev. King was elected President. Before the meeting ended, the leaflet we had drawn up asking Negroes to stay off the buses was being distributed throughout the city. Negroes were gathering in small groups on street corners, in pool rooms, bars, and houses. As they read the leaflet they seemed to stand a little straighter. They nodded their heads in agreement. The reaction was a common one—"That's the truth", folks would say, "We ought to stay off those buses."

The protest was on!

# **CROSSES in CONFLICT**

*in*

## **Southern Georgia**

**DAVE DELLINGER**



IN SOUTHERN GEORGIA, there is a co-operative community of native southerners, both white and black. The white founders were accused of trying to escape their social responsibilities by going off to live together in Utopian isolation. But in the last six months, Koinonia Community has been catapulted into national prominence. For many, it has come to symbolize the best hope for a solution to the race problem.

The members of Koinonia Farms have not "withdrawn". They merely insist that they must carry out in their own lives the revolution that they envision for the whole of society. They live in Christian communism, sharing the work and the proceeds, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs". They operate a highly successful 1100 acre farm, but have no class division between managers and workers or between skilled and unskilled. They have no hierarchy of leaders or elected rulers, but make all important decisions by unanimous consent in group assembly. The members refuse to serve in the armed forces. They have been excommunicated from the neighboring church. They have been told that they are selfishly trying to live ahead of the times, that they belong in the factories, the unions, the segregated local church, the army—in order to work with the people wherever the people are. But they have an "open door" for others to join them, and an open heart toward all humanity. In fourteen years, they have grown from four members to sixty, and have had a steadily increasing influence on a growing number of friends, neighbors, and enemies.

### **Violence is Newsworthy**

IT IS characteristic of our culture that the first widespread publicity for Koinonia came not as a

result of its various achievements in agriculture, economic organization, or the successful integration of white and Negro southerners, but in response to recent attacks made on Koinonia by its enemies. On the night of July 23, ten or fifteen sticks of dynamite were thrown into the Community's roadside market, destroying about \$3000 worth of equipment, but not causing human injury. Shots have been fired both into the market and into the community housing area. One dark night, Clarence Jordan, one of Koinonia's founders, was followed in his automobile by another car that had been waiting outside Koinonia's lane. Just before a narrow bridge, the car shot ahead of Jordan and came to a careening halt on the bridge, blocking the road. Jordan managed to throw his car into reverse and escape while the other driver was climbing out with a raised shotgun. These and other assaults have been accompanied by legal persecution and economic boycott, which have proved far more damaging.

Koinonia has always had to meet the suspicion and hostility of its neighbors, because of its complete disregard of economic and racial barriers. But during its previous fourteen years of struggle, it has overcome the resentment. It has done so by actions that flow naturally from its conviction that competition, hatred, and misunderstanding can be overcome by love expressed in material sharing as well as in patience and forgiveness. Its members have turned out in full force to help a hostile neighbor rebuild a burned-out barn, when his fellow white supremacists were "too busy." It has shared its farm produce with those in need. It led the neighborhood's fight for telephones and paved roads. When it developed a model farm, with new, more successful crops, improved livestock, and scientific erosion control, it did



not rise above its neighbors. The farm became a demonstration and training center for improved agricultural methods. As a result, the level of the whole surrounding area was improved. In a county in which egg production had not been considered profitable, Koinonia introduced new methods and then graded and sold its neighbors' eggs until they could gradually take over for themselves. Now the county has the highest egg production in the state.

### What caused the Violence?

SO SUCCESSFUL was Koinonia by its methods that one wonders whether the outbursts of violence and economic persecution would have occurred at all except for the Supreme Court decision on integration. This fanned the ancient resentments between South and North, resentments which are based not only on Southern myopia but also on the attempt of Northerners to impose racial justice by methods natural to those who are mired in economic competition and reliance on governmental coercion.

In any case, the immediate event that precipitated the trouble was the desire of two Atlanta Negroes to study at the Georgia State College of Business Administration. To enter the University, they needed the signature of two graduates. Since all graduates are white, this regulation has been a method of denying university education to Georgia Negroes. A courageous Atlanta minister, James Welden, was the first white man to agree to sign, and in April of this year he asked Clarence Jordan if he would also sign.

Jordan's handling of the matter is typical of Koinonia's approach to the conflict situations that beset it. He went to Atlanta and talked with the Negro applicants, one of whom was a Korean war widow who supports her children by secretarial work. He became convinced that the applicants were genuinely interested in securing the education and were not being used as a front in an artificial test case that might be handled in such a way as to increase the existing misunderstandings. So he agreed to sign. Together with Welden, Harry Atkinson (another member of Koinonia), and a professor of the Negro Morehouse College, he arranged an appointment with President Sparks of the Atlanta Division of the University, and, later, at Sparks' suggestion, with the Executive Secretary of the State Board of Regents. Their aim was to work out a means of handling the procedure that would be less provocative to all parties than the handling of the Autherine Lucy case had been in Alabama.

The University officials seemed to appreciate this approach. But in the end they ruled Jordan ineligible to sign the application, on the basis of a technicality: he is a graduate of the Agricultural Department of the University

and the Negroes were applying at the Business School.

Before Jordan and Atkinson got back to Koinonia, the Governor of the State had already called up the sheriff of Sumpter County to ask who "this Jordan fellow" is. The evening edition of the neighboring Americus paper carried headlines screaming that Clarence Jordan of Koinonia Farms had signed applications for Negro students to enter the University. Other papers throughout the state gave the story front-page prominence. Koinonia was accused of working with some unidentified "outside agency" to overthrow "our true democratic way of life."

### Injunction against Interracial Camp

REPRISAL came not from Koinonia's neighbors but from the local political machine. The first act was the serving of an injunction prohibiting Koinonia from operating its annual interracial camp, on the pretext that it would be a public health menace. The camp, which was in its third year, had been certified by the American Camping Association. It had been approved by the County Health Inspector the previous year. In 1956, the facilities had been expanded and improved at a cost of several thousand dollars. But a week before opening date, and without any inspection, the County got a local judge to issue an injunction. After the injunction had already been served, the County Health Inspector came to the camp and charged a few minor technical violations. These were taken care of immediately. But a court decision on the "temporary" restraining injunction was postponed through a series of hearings until September 24th, when camping season was safely over. Then it was dropped. Fortunately, another Southern interracial organization, Highlander Folk School, in Monteagle, Tennessee, learned of the difficulty and offered the use of its facilities. The camp was transferred 400 miles to Highlander and carried out successfully.

### The Immorality of Birth

AT THE SECOND hearing on the camp injunction, four prominent citizens hired a leading law firm to represent them in support of the County's case. They added the charge that the camp would be "a detriment to the morals of the children" because they might "see baby pigs being born alive".

When questioned on this charge, at the final hearing, Clarence Jordan replied that he could not believe that the process of birth was immoral, without accusing God of immorality.

The County attorney then asked:

"Did you as a child, ever belong to any group or organization which allowed you to see such a thing?"

Jordan: "Yes, I did."

Attorney: "What was it?"

Jordan: "The 4-H Club."

Attorney: "Why would you allow children under your care to witness it?"

Jordan: "We have been unable to guarantee absolute privacy to our 40-odd sows during farrowing season, and because our hogs are rather stupid, we have been unable to teach them to seclude themselves during this act. Furthermore, we have read all of the latest developments on hog-raising, but have discovered no other way of getting baby pigs than by the old-fashioned process of birth."

## The Gospel and the Law

DURING the whole proceedings, the interracial nature of the camp was never mentioned by its opponents. However, at one point, the Judge made the interesting admission that this was a "wrangle between the Gospel and the law."

The Judge was quite right, not only in that the Gospels support Koinonia and the law supports its enemies, but also as to the conscious motivation of the Koinonia Community. Clarence Jordan, who is a Greek scholar, points out that the early Christians lived in total communism, in Christian communities. The words *Koinonia* (meaning community) and *Ecclesia* (meaning assembly) were used interchangeably to refer to these Christian groups. Today the word *Koinonia* has been all but forgotten by the *Ecclesia*, the church as we know it, along with the practice of Christian communism. A weekly assembly for worship has replaced a daily life of economic equality. Logically enough, the members of Koinonia, Georgia, were expelled from the local Baptist church, a few years back, because of their successful integration into a Christian Community of persons from different races and classes. Preferring to practice brotherhood economically and socially rather than to embalm it in church for Sunday worship while banishing it from their daily lives, the members of Koinonia have substituted membership in a Christian "community" for their previous membership in the Christian "church". In them Christianity has come full circle, back to its original concept and practice. Perhaps it is this that has given the members of Koinonia some of the power that the early Christians had to withstand persecution without retreat or retaliation.

## Economic Persecution

THERE HAS BEEN persecution enough to embitter most people. During the period of tension generated by public hearings on the injunction, came the dynamiting and the shots into the community. Then legal and economic persecution was intensified. All of the community's insurance policies were cancelled. Mer-

chants refused to handle Koinonia's produce or to sell it supplies. The members found themselves with no outlets for the eggs from their 4,000 laying hens, with a cancelled order for \$2000 worth of peanut seed that had already been processed and therefore could not be preserved. They could not even buy gasoline to run their tractors and farm equipment. The State reversed its earlier ruling that Koinonia was a non-profit organization and imposed taxes, retroactive for five years, together with a number of burdensome and discriminatory regulations. Even gifts to Koinonia, such as a shipment of used clothing from friends in California, were declared subject to sales tax, on the basis of a previously unused technicality in the law. These and other measures have pushed Koinonia to the wall economically, but do not seem to have weakened its spirit. One by one it has solved many of the problems, through its own resourcefulness and with the aid of its friends—finding new markets in distant cities, importing fuel by "airlift", etc.

In the midst of the struggle, Conrad Browne is able to write, from Koinonia:

A number of local ministers and leading laymen have come to us 'by night' and assured us of their loving concern. In one white church, after a Sunday School lesson on the persecution of early Christians, a motion was made to take up an offering to help Koinonia repair its dynamited market. This caused an explosion.

An amazing number of local people have gone out of their way to be friendly and to let us know that though they may not be able to agree with us, neither can they agree with the methods being used against us. The Gospel is lying heavily on the hearts of many people in this county . . . Regardless of what happens to us, may our witness be clear and true, and may our hearts be free from all malice.

This might be compared with what Martin Luther King wrote in the April *LIBERATION*:

If, in pressing for justice and equality in Montgomery, we discover that those who reject equality are prepared to use violence, we must not despair, retreat, or fear. Before they make this crucial decision, they must remember: whatever they do, we will not use violence in return. We hope we can act in the struggle in such a way that they will see the error of their approach and will come to respect us . . . We do not wish to triumph over the white population. But if we can live up to non-violence in thought and deed, there will emerge an interracial society based on freedom for all.

So the South, in its hour of crisis, has given birth to the New Negro, at Montgomery, at Tallahassee, and elsewhere, and to the New White, at Koinonia, at Highlander, Tennessee, and in a few other localities. Bridges are being started from both directions.



# JIM CROW — NORTHERN STYLE

Sidney Lens

FIGHTING THE GOOD FIGHT is not always easy. Since the world seems to change only piece by piece, the alternatives posed for radicals in specific situations are often painfully limited.

A case in point is the current small experiment in democratic integration in the Hyde Park-Kenwood area of Chicago. This social island on Chicago's south side is approximately 150 blocks square and houses a population of some 61,000 citizens. It is unquestionably the intellectual center of the midwestern metropolis. It is a spirited small community with a high degree of local patriotism—knitted together by a successful "Hyde Park Co-operative" which does \$2 million a year business; a "Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference" which draws neighbors into community activities through scores of block committees; an extremely liberal and extensively read neighborhood newspaper, the *Hyde Park Herald*; a raft of social and educational functions; and lately a Hyde Park Unit of the NAACP which is distinguished by the fact that most of its members are white. Hyde Park is unique, probably unmatched anywhere in the country for its liberal and maverick character.

You would have to go a long way in this area to find anyone who opposes democratic integration. Yet implementing the principle is no small task, and is not at all certain of success. The current experiment in fact seems to indicate that just as socialism cannot be built within the limits of a single country, so democratic integration cannot take place on a healthy basis within the limits of a single locality.

## Northern Ghettos

THEORETICALLY of course the Northern section of the United States is supposed to be de-segregated. But, as everyone knows, this is a convenient fiction for maintaining Negro ghettos. Northern landlords set geographical boundaries for the Negro, often as firm as the barbed wire frontiers in Russia's satellites. In Hyde Park the University of Chicago has been a prime factor in keeping Negroes out. The University, of course, would deny it, but it is common knowledge that it wants a "safe" middle class white neighborhood around its tens of millions of dollars worth of University buildings. University authorities have been fearful that parents might withdraw their children from school if the area became "dangerous"; and the incursion of a transient Negro

into the neighborhood, with all that it entails, is a threat to the University's stability. The University could, of course, put up a courageous battle for city-wide open occupancy. It could, but it hasn't. Instead it has—with only minor exceptions—helped put up the barriers which have kept the Negro out.

The Negro literally has to "break out" of the enclosures placed around him, pitting himself against the law of supply and demand. In Chicago the Negro "break-through" has started from the south side and pushed partially westward into old worn-out Jewish areas and further south into districts formerly inhabited by the middle class whites. Now, after some years, it has advanced into the Hyde Park-Kenwood area adjacent to the great University.

Until a few years ago Hyde Park was almost all white. As late as 1950 Negroes constituted only 7 per cent of the population in the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community. By now the percentage has risen to 40 and soon it is expected to go over the 50 per cent mark. Negroes are flocking to Chicago at the rate of a few thousand a month. Even when you deduct those who leave town, the net intake is still more than 1,000. That means that some 2½ additional square blocks a month are filling up with new Negro families.

There probably are enough housing units in Chicago to accommodate these families—if the city were open to them. But the 600,000 Negroes can not move about freely; they are squeezed into ghettos. You won't find Negroes in the predominantly Polish Back-of-the-Yards area, or along the lush Gold Coast on the North Side, or in the Polish, German, Jewish or Scandinavian localities further North. Except for the all-Negro suburb of Robbins you will find exceedingly few in the suburbs either; almost all are lily-white and resist Negro penetration fiercely.

## Economic Pressures

THE REASONS for this are in part due to the factor of racial prejudice. But there is an economic fact as well. Surveys made a few years back show the average Negro family in Chicago has an income of \$2,526 a year as against \$4,129 for whites. The Negro is thus forced by economic circumstances to seek lower cost housing, to double up two families to an apartment, to live in crowded cheap rooming houses. Both because of race prejudice and economic pressure, he looks for



housing only in areas adjacent to the prevailing Negro ghetto and usually only where the neighborhoods are already deteriorating. Once he is permitted in, the landlord sees to it that the district deteriorates further.

Naturally there are some exceptions to these rules. In some spots in Hyde Park-Kenwood, Negroes and whites are living together in single family dwellings on a healthy basis and the neighborhood is well kept. But elsewhere the process of area decay is rapidly speeded. Real estate interests try for as long as possible to keep the Negro out, but when the area begins to "change" unscrupulous landlords, both white and Negro, take advantage of the circumstance to make themselves a quick, dishonest buck. These gentlemen rationalize the problem to themselves thus: "Why resist the tide, the neighborhood is going to change anyway, why not take advantage of it and make some extra money?" When Negroes begin to move in the landlords amortize their property two or three times as fast and raise rents to make up for this rapid amortization—and then some.

### Low Income, High Rent

IN ONE BUILDING after another the same process takes place. An apartment which used to rent to whites for \$110 a month is opened up to Negroes at \$150. The landlord doesn't ask the whites to move, but he informs them that they are at liberty to break their lease anytime they see fit. Many of them, particularly in Hyde Park-Kenwood, would gladly stay in these inter-racial buildings, but the landlord soon makes it next to impossible.

The Negro who must pay such high rents—on his terribly low income—invites another family to share the apartment. This overcrowding is a violation of the law, but both landlord and politician wink at it. The building becomes badly overpopulated. Service standards deteriorate. The landlord, realizing the Negro's plight—his inability to find good housing—just lets things run down. There is no painting; no remodeling; no fixing of plumbing when it goes out of order; the hallways become marked up and dirty, the walls chipped and mice and roaches begin to infest the building. The white tenant, who sees possibilities of moving elsewhere, can no longer take it. He moves. The average Negro, however, must stay; he has nowhere else to go. The only place he can go is back to another spot in his own ghetto, equally bad or even worse. The Negro, paying rents far higher than he can afford, is constantly looking for cheaper quarters. When he finds them—again, in his own ghetto, seldom outside—he takes advantage of the saving and moves. The newly "changed" area becomes a haven for a transient, less stable Negro.

The mixture of such transient lower-income people with the higher bracket whites soon creates new prob-

lems of crime and delinquency—so well known to sociologists and criminologists. The solid, stable Negro is already set somewhere and usually a credit to his neighborhood, but the one who has to move into newly-opened areas is a more transient type and he affects the area adversely. White women in "changing" areas become fearful of leaving their homes at night. Families are afraid to have their children in the street. Tensions increase.

In the Hyde Park Community there is no doubt that thousands of white families would be happy to live in desegregated apartment houses. Their political and social instincts run in that direction. Some might even pay the higher rents. But they find themselves unable and unwilling to live in the deteriorating rat-traps and the deteriorating social conditions. They move out and soon the building becomes all-Negro and part of a new slum.

### Food Baskets and Murder Fixes

IN TURN the ghetto and the slum create an additional difficulty. Thrown together, Negroes tend to vote on a racial basis. The man who can deliver that political vote becomes a power indeed. If that power is used for personal aggrandizement, as is the case in Chicago, it spews forth a corrupt political machine. The machine operates on the typical old-style Tammany Hall principle—it doles out favors to the poor and unfortunate, such as jobs and food baskets. But it also aids and abets the numbers racket and other criminal activities, thereby corrupting many police elements and parts of the judiciary. A Negro walking the streets in his own ghetto late at night may find himself accosted by a policeman who insists on a payment of \$5 or \$10 as the price for "not pulling you in." A Negro involved in a capital crime against another Negro (but not against a white) can sometimes buy his way out of the mess. The rumored price for a fix on a murder charge is \$1,500, though on occasion it has been done for less.

The corrupt machine hasn't moved in, full force, to Hyde Park as yet, but its bared fangs are apparent. In the next aldermanic elections there is no doubt that it will make its play, trying to unseat a decent liberal white alderman. The machine is also trying to wedge into control of the city-wide NAACP, and there is some fear that it may succeed. What begins, therefore, as a "simple" problem of housing for Negroes ends as a broad social problem involving politics, the judiciary, sanitation, delinquency, education, and just about everything else.

### Tackling the Problem

TO CHECK the trend Hyde Park is now involved in a multi-pronged redevelopment program, pushed and sparked by the University of Chicago. Approximately 20 per cent of the buildings in the area are to be torn down to be replaced by modern housing units.

Since the government is underwriting part of the cost, the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference is insisting that there be an iron-clad guarantee that the units will be racially integrated. Another feature of the redevelopment, supported by the Conference, is a program to grant long-term FHA loans to landlords to rehabilitate poor structures. It is expected that these owners will maintain certain improved housing standards and maintain rents at a reasonable level. There is some talk, too, of introducing certain enforcement procedures as well.

Once these two moves gain momentum the community can get to work on the unscrupulous landlords to force them to maintain the same standards for buildings that house Negroes as those that house whites. In this way it is hoped that many of the units will become racially integrated on a healthy basis. Some argue that the racial barriers ought to be lowered completely so that the Negro might move in wherever he pleases in Hyde Park. But while this sounds good theoretically, in practice it means that the area would soon become an all-Negro slum, indistinguishable from other Negro ghettos. Under these circumstances, it could never become an integrated community. As things stand now, with redevelopment being undertaken by private corporate interests and with the almost certainty that the new units will be high-rent, the unhappy choice faces Hyde Park of either becoming an all-Negro slum or an integrated neighborhood on a purely middle class basis.

The best solution for Hyde Park, therefore, is only a partial one, and even this does not entirely assure success.

## All-Negro Cities

IN THE LONG RUN Chicago threatens to become an all-Negro city unless drastic measures are taken. A similar process is going on in Washington D.C.—the whites are moving to the suburbs, the city itself is becoming Negro. The Northern program of symbolic—but not real—de-segregation creates as many problems as it solves, both racial and class problems. If these are ever to be solved the big cities must move forthrightly to “open occupancy”—Negroes (and other minorities, especially Puerto Ricans in New York) must be permitted to live wherever they please. Such integration will be a long step not only towards establishing true racial democracy but towards improving educational, social and political standards.

But Hyde Park proves once again that the so-called race problem is more than a matter of Negro citizens winning democratic rights. It involves the whole fabric of American society. It is, in fact, part of the big job of completing the American Revolution itself.

## SOME SOUTHERN REACTIONS to the Supreme Court Decision Outlawing Segregated Buses

The people of Alabama are not going to abolish segregation. I'm going to do everything in my power to maintain peace and order. To keep down violence and bloodshed, segregation must be maintained. I will urge all public transportation companies to make every effort to keep harmony among passengers by assigning seats in such a manner that the races will be kept separate.

*G. C. Owen, pres. of the Alabama Public Service Commission.*

Luther Ingalls, local leader of the pro-segregation Montgomery Citizens Council predicted flatly that “any attempt to enforce that decision will inevitably lead to riot and bloodshed.”

*Montgomery Advertiser, Nov. 14*

Asked their reactions...white men and women were unanimously opposed to integration. Curiously, however, they appeared almost resigned rather than resentful...(and).... avoided reference to violence unless specifically asked if they believed there might be violence.

*Steve Leshner reporting in Montgomery Advertiser, Nov. 14*

I feel that lots of people of the white race and of our race are not fit to sit with decent people and they should go to the rear of the buses.

*Susie McDonald, 78 year-old Negro woman, Montgomery.*

I'm 56 years old and that too old to walk. I make \$10 a week and that's not enough to pay cab fare every day. So I ride the buses. I don't use the car pool because they tell me I've got to be a member of the NAACP to do that. And I don't make enough money to belong to the NAACP. Anyway my daddy didn't belong to the NAACP so why should I?

*Carrie McKenzie, Negro domestic, Montgomery, Ala.*

King (Martin Luther King Jr.) urged those at both meetings to “be calm and reasonable, with understanding, good will, and Christian love.”

“We must take this not as a victory over the white man but with dignity”, he said to crowds that had begun gathering three hours before the meeting. “Don't go back to the buses and push people around. We're just going to sit where there's a seat.”

King added later, “I wish I could say that when we go back to the buses that no white person will insult you or that violence will not break out. But I can't say that because I don't know.”

“If someone pushes you, don't push him back.... We must have the courage to refuse to hit back” the minister said.

*Birmingham News, Nov. 15*

# Terror in the Delta



**BAYARD RUSTIN**

## Ku Klux Klan in Business Suits

ON MAY 17, 1954, the United States Supreme Court outlawed segregation in public education. By October 12, 1954, the White Citizens Council of Indianola, Mississippi, had become a state-wide organization. Today its first major report of accomplishments boasts:

In less than two years of activity, 65 of our 82 counties in Mississippi have been organized with a membership of 80,000. . . . The state office has published over two million pieces of literature in the 48 states. . . . which give concrete, convincing reasons for the absolute necessity of maintaining segregation in the South.

(Report to Executive Committee, August 1956.)

The report then calls the committee's attention to the March 12, 1956, Declaration by 101 Southern Congressmen attacking the Supreme Court decision and concludes:

The Citizens Council is proud of the part it played in the expression of this sentiment against the tyrannical actions of the Supreme Court.

### Section Two of the report deals with the NAACP:

We have proven to our Negro citizens that the NAACP is a left-wing, power-mad organ of destruction that cares nothing about the Negro. We have the support of the thinking, conservative Negro people who believe in segregation. We want to help them develop social pride in a segregated society.

There is no shame expressed in the report as to how this "support of the thinking, conservative Negro people" was in part obtained. It was done by the use of paid Negro agents who carried tales, some true and many false,

creating confusion and discord until no one knows whom he can trust. Many are thus afraid to act at all. The report puts it this way:

Information is received by the Council concerning all activities of the NAACP. Sources of this information cannot be divulged. It is important that the NAACP leaders in all vicinities be known. A list of the NAACP membership is being compiled.

## Pressures used against Negroes

THIS COMPILATION of the NAACP list has numerous ramifications. Professional Negroes in the Delta are afraid of economic reprisals and no longer join the NAACP. Teachers, doctors, pharmacists and businessmen are kept under terrific pressure.

A teacher in Cleveland, Mississippi, would receive me only after dark and only if I walked to her home. "That NAACP man's car you ride in will cause a commotion. Anyhow, you're a stranger, and somebody may think you are from the NAACP. Come late and walk." At the close of our conversation she said:

Well, I really don't know what to think but I know Mr. Smith (a white businessman and member of the WCC) is correct. He said that integration can't happen in Mississippi and if I lose my job the NAACP can't give me one. You can't give me one either, so please don't come here any more and don't speak to me if you see me on the street.

A businessman in Charleston, Miss., who is not an NAACP member, told a story too long to repeat in detail. It classically illustrates the forces faced by someone who is even *reported* to be an NAACP member.



1. Family pressure....his wife finally divorced him and left the South for Chicago.
2. Harassment—At night his telephone rings constantly. Often no one speaks when he answers it. Occasionally all he hears is "Nigger, nigger" and then silence.
3. Ostracism—Most of the middle class Negroes in the town and many of the more prosperous farmers in the county do not speak to him on the street. No one calls at his home anymore.
4. Economic pressure—He cannot buy at wholesale prices in the area.
5. Fear—A "liberal" white man who had lent him money over the years recently refused to do so again. He said, "Amos, you're a good boy, but I don't know why you won't get out of that NAACP. Don't you have no pride in your race? Anyhow, I can't lend you money. I don't want to be called a nigger-lover."

### Pressure on Whites

THIS PRESSURE is applied to white people also. Some months ago Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, a white minister long associated with the NAACP, visited Cleveland, Miss. He was not on NAACP business. He came out of Christian concern to see if an interracial ministers' committee could be set up to discuss integration. His mission failed, but while in Cleveland he called upon the Rev. Duncan Gray, white Episcopal rector. After Dr. Chalmers left town, the rector was threatened, members of his church are reported to have resigned, and he was told: "Leave the state or behave yourself."

The Council not only threatens the progressive Negroes and white people in the area, but, as its report makes clear, it

has given backing to the conservative class of Negro in the area and has given them courage to speak out in opposition to the radical NAACP element.

### The Church is bought & paid for

IN THE DELTA the Negro church is bought and paid for by the Council, with very few exceptions. Many ministers are in debt to members of the Citizens Council. These clergymen denounce the NAACP as radical and misguided. They call for "a new Booker T. Washington—someone to lead who is not interested in racial equality."

On September 31st I was invited to speak at a county-wide song contest at Mt. Moria Baptist church near Bobo, Miss. At the end of the meeting I told the story of the Montgomery protest and related the walking of Negroes in Montgomery to Moses walking with the Hebrews out of slavery in Egypt. The talk was received by the rural population with enthusiasm. But no sooner had I sat

down than the Rev. J. A. Butler was on his feet urging the people to remember that God alone could lead the Negro to freedom in His own good time. The congregation sat in absolute silence as he spoke. When the service was over, some of the country people got in their old cars and drove away while the rest walked. The Rev. J. A. Butler kissed a few children, climbed into his 1956 Cadillac, warned me to be careful not to stir things up lest I get his flock into trouble, and drove away. As he picked up speed well down the road, a young sharecropper turned to me and said:

I liked your sermon, Brother Rustin—Now don't you pay Rev. Butler no mind. The white folks pays for his car and he's satisfied. But you better be careful. He's headin' toward Mr. Smith's now to tell him what you been preachin'.

### Terror in the Delta

WHERE the bought clergy and frightened middle class don't pay off stronger methods are used. A good example is the careful plan carried out by the WCC in Charleston, Miss.

Three years ago Charleston had a small but thriving NAACP group. Today it has only four members. They operate as the underground did in Nazi Germany. On the surface "all is well" and recently nobody has tried to vote or to discuss integration. What caused this group, so active a short time ago, to become so quiet now?

The militant leader in Charleston had been Robert Smith. He had urged Negroes to vote, had said integration was inevitable, so why not now? He was a good farmer and collected burial insurance. He was prosperous.

Then one day he was seen talking to a white man downtown. The woman who saw him said he looked mighty scared. That night he left town. Nobody yet knows why. All anyone will say is:

Don't know how they got him out. It must have been something terrible, 'cause he was a good man and he always stood up and fought for his people.

But Robert Smith is gone. Behind him he left a business, a house, a truck and his farm. No one, not even his sister, knows for sure where he is. "Some folks", she says, "tell me he's in Chicago. God knows. He might be dead."

A few weeks after Robert Smith disappeared, John Wesley Logan was sitting in a dingy Negro café talking with his wife. The waitress called him to the phone. When he returned to the table he told his wife that he had to "see some white man about a job." The next day they pulled him out of Tilletopa Creek. All his wife could say was, "He sure beat up a poor white man who insulted him a while back. I guess the white folks done got him." Everyone in town knew John Wesley Logan was the only day laborer who would not say "Sir",

and who bragged that, "I hits white folks if they hits me."  
 "John Wesley Logan weren't cold in the ground yet,"  
 an old man said, "before Professor J.R. Gray lost his job  
 at Sherman Creek, down the road a piece." For "his  
 great learnin'" Professor Gray was greatly beloved by  
 Negroes all over the county, but they say, "He sure made  
 two bad mistakes." He gave the impression that he was  
 against segregation and he bought a car outside the  
 county because he could get it cheaper. But nobody  
 knows for sure, because Professor Gray has never said.  
 He left school after many years and started a farm.  
 "Folks say he doin' fairly well. Got two bales of cotton  
 this year. But," said the old man, "he done lost his pur-  
 pose and his self-respect. You can see dat in his face.  
 Poor man, he don't look like the same person."

Five miles down the road from Prof. Gray's farm, the  
 Rev. L. Terry used to have his rural church and a neat  
 cabin alongside it. Every morning during the Emmett  
 Till trial, Rev. Terry put on his best clothes and drove  
 over to Sumner. He sat erect in the court. One day he  
 paused and shook hands with Representative Diggs of  
 Michigan, who was at the trial, and the following Sunday  
 he told his congregation that Diggs was one of the "smart-  
 est and most politest men" God had given him the pleas-  
 ure to gaze upon. The following Wednesday Rev. Terry  
 called a meeting of his board and told them that for the  
 good of the people he was leaving town. Six carloads of  
 white men with shotguns had told him to get out or  
 innocent people would suffer with him. He sold his cabin  
 and his car. He left the next day for Arkansas. "Some  
 weeks later," the old man said, "one of those same crack-  
 ers who run him off bought his plantation for half what  
 it was worth. It's a sin, son. It's a sin."

Now, Charleston is quiet. Robert Smith, symbol of in-  
 tegration, is gone. John Wesley Logan, symbol of digni-  
 ty, is dead. Professor Gray, symbol of truth, is broken.  
 Rev. Terry is gone, and whatever militancy the Negro  
 church had went with him. Yes, Charleston on the surface  
 is quiet. And some fearful Negro businessmen have been  
 given incentive to speak out in opposition to the radical  
 NAACP element. The WCC reports that "inroads of  
 NAACP upon local Negro sentiment have been severely  
 crushed." This is true. But outside this sentiment and  
 beneath the quiet are four Negroes who love their race  
 and who respect the NAACP and who are quietly carry-  
 ing on in Charleston—underground.

Another similar method of keeping Negroes from  
 pressing for equality in the Delta was made clear by Mr.  
 Edward Pemberton, Bolivar County chairman of the  
 White Citizens Council. After he had ruthlessly driven  
 a family of "uppity niggers" from his land, he told them:

Now you'll go to the NAACP and see if they can take  
 care of you. You niggers can't live unless we let you.  
 Your food, your work and your very lives depend on good  
 hearted white people. When the likes of you learn your

place race relations can be cordial. Trouble is you don't  
 respect your race.

In other words, if you want to eat, to work and to live,  
 denounce integration for all to hear.



### Mr. Eastland, the Negro's Protector

NOW, even the most servile Negroes are sus-  
 pect and every means is used to impress upon them the  
 power of the White Citizens Councils. Even police bru-  
 tality can be put to use. An incident that occurred in  
 Ruleville, in Sunflower County, birthplace of the Council,  
 will illustrate the point. Preston Johns, Negro renter on  
 Senator Eastland's plantation near Blane, is a "good  
 nigger who knows his place." One day in May, 1955,  
 Preston's wife got into a fight with another Negro woman  
 in the jim crow section of the Ruleville theater. The  
 manager threw the women out and notified the police.  
 While police were questioning the women, Preston's  
 daughter came up to see what was happening to her  
 mother. Without warning, a policeman struck her over  
 the head with the butt of his gun. She fell to the pave-  
 ment bleeding badly. The police left her there. Some-  
 one went for her father. When he came up the police  
 threatened to kill him. Preston left and called Mr.  
 Scruggs, one of Eastland's cronies. After half an hour  
 Scruggs came and permitted the girl to be lifted from the  
 street and taken to the hospital.

When Scruggs left he yelled to the Negroes across the  
 street: "You'll see who your friend is. If it wasn't for us  
 Citizens Council members, she'd have near about died."  
 One old Negro answered back, "I been tellin' these niggers  
 Mr. Scruggs and Mr. Eastland is de best friends dey got."  
 A few days later, Senator Eastland came to Ruleville to  
 look the situation over. Many Negroes lined the streets  
 and beamed at their "protector".

*(Bayard Rustin will continue in a future issue with a  
 report of his journey into the Emmett Till country).*



## HELP YOURSELVES by HELPING KOINONIA



Although Koinonia Community (see article on page 11) accepts direct contributions to help defray the losses from bombing and economic reprisal, its emphasis is on self-support through its own productive labor. Its local markets have been undercut by pressure from white supremacists, but the local loss is our gain.

We cannot think of a more suitable way to celebrate Christmas than by ordering some of Koinonia's tasty meats and nuts, for yourself, for your friends, and for the sake of those at Koinonia who are risking their very lives in the cause of "peace on earth, goodwill to men".

Koinonia will mail Christmas packages for you, with greeting card enclosed, or you can order in quantity and make your own gift boxes. Products will be shipped postpaid anywhere east of the rockies.

### MEATS

*The tongues, hens, turkeys, and hams are fully cured but not cooked. They will keep well for several weeks.*

Country Hams	85c lb. postpaid
Slab bacon	55c lb. postpaid
Pure pork sausage (smoked & cured, hot or mild)	70c lb. postpaid
Smoked beef tongue	50c lb. postpaid
Fat hens (smoked and cured)	85c lb. postpaid
Tender turkeys (country cured)	90c lb. postpaid

### NUTS

#### Peanuts

*U.S. No.1 carefully graded, large type Virginia nuts. Not roasted, so you'll need to roast your own or use them for making peanut brittle. (They are easily roasted by placing in a shallow pan in your oven until the skins slip easily and the meat turns golden.)*

	Raw, in the shell	Raw, Shelled
5 lb sack	\$1.85 postpaid	\$2.50 postpaid
10 lb sack	3.50 postpaid	4.50 postpaid
50 lb sack	16.00 postpaid	20.00 postpaid
100 lb sack	28.00 postpaid	35.00 postpaid

#### Pecans

*Just as they come from the trees without any fancy polish. The paper-shells are very thin and can be easily cracked in your hands. The smaller nuts are a bit harder to crack, but seem to have a better flavor.*

	Paper-shells	Smaller Ones
5 lb sack	\$2.75 postpaid	\$2.00 postpaid
5 lb gift box	3.00 postpaid	
10 lb sack	5.00 postpaid	3.75 postpaid
10 lb gift box	5.50 postpaid	
50 lb sack	22.50 freight paid	16.50 freight paid
100 lb sack	38.00 freight paid	30.00 freight paid
Shelled nut meats	1.25 lb. prepaid	

Orders should be sent to KOINONIA FARMS, Route 1, Americus, Georgia.

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